

INDIA'S HOUR HAS STRUCK !

BY GEORGE S. ARUNDALE

One of a series of lectures entitled
"The Rebirth of India" delivered
in the Gokhale Hall, Madras,
October-November 1939

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ARMENIAN STREET, MADRAS

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INDIA'S HOUR HAS STRUCK¹

THIS is a most auspicious day for the delivery of the first of this series of lectures under the title, *The Rebirth of India*. In the first place it is Mahalaya Amavasya, a day of reverence to the Pitris, and one feels in giving this lecture that one is offering one's reverence to this great Motherland of ours.

In the second place this is Gokhale Hall. Not many of you are old enough to be able to remember Mr. G. K. Gokhale. He was one of India's finest patriots and greatest statesmen, who endured the deepest sacrifices for India a couple of decades ago, and whom we wish we had in our midst today. He was a great authority on Indian traditions, on Indian needs, and no less a great authority on India's constitutional programme. A great fighter he was in those days when practically nobody was willing to fight at all. Then is this hall remarkable in that so many great personages have spoken here, especially in the last twenty years and less. I naturally think of my own guru, Dr. Besant, who spoke so often here, and who thrilled vast audiences with her incomparable oratory.

This is also a very auspicious day, because on it, it is alleged, Columbus discovered America. From this day onwards the world must discover India, even if she has never

¹ A Lecture given in the Gokhale Hall, Madras, 12 October 1939.

discovered India before. Such are the many reasons why this is a most auspicious day. And I want to emphasize what is perhaps the most auspicious occasion of all—that India's Hour Has Struck. But I want to suggest to you that this is not the first hour which has struck, has sounded upon Indian ears. There were three other great hours, and this may perhaps be regarded as the fourth.

The First Hour—The High Gods Came

The First Hour was when in the dim distance of time the High Gods came and walked this sacred soil of India, making it sacred through treading it with Their Holy Feet. Then a great hour struck for this Motherland of ours, the occasion for her being born to the greatness to which she is destined.

The Second Hour—The Heroes Reigned

The Second Great Hour was the hour when the High Gods retired and the Heroes belonging to humanity took Their place, no less an hour in the dim and distant past of this country. The First Hour was the hour of the Divine Age of Indian history. The Second Hour was the hour of the Heroic Age of Indian history.

The Third Hour—Kurukshetra

The Third Great Hour was the hour of Kurukshetra, the hour of the *Bhagavad Gita*, the mightiest battle ever fought upon the surface of the globe under conditions under which one only wishes wars could be fought today. It may have been a physical battle, but far more was it a spiritual battle, a battle for the beginning of India's work in the

modern age, in these very modern times themselves. That was the beginning of an age of Crucifixion. First the Divine Age when Gods lived and moved upon this land, then the Heroic Age when, as a result of the leaving of the Gods, the Heroes arose from humanity and lived as Kings and as great ideals, not only for the service of India but in fact, as we shall see in due course, for the service of the whole world. Then Kurukshetra.

The Fourth Hour—India's Resurrection

This is the Fourth Hour, the hour of India's Resurrection, for just as in the Christian Scripture we read of Christ being crucified and then of entering into the glory of the Resurrection, so is it true that we can look back to the field of Kurukshetra as the field of India's Crucifixion, and now today you and I are living in the time of her Resurrection, for which an Hour has sounded.

I think there is no finer thought, no deeper inspiration, than the sense that you and I are destined by our being born in these days to be able to help in the resurrection of this great country. You and I must listen ardently to the notes which this Fourth Hour sounds, and not only must we listen, but we must awaken, we must arise, and each one of us individually take part in this resurrection by giving to our Motherland of all the service and the sacrifice of which we are capable.

India Belongs to the World

India is in a very special measure the most remarkable country in the world, for while she has her own specific

individuality, her own unique genius, her own splendour, her own past and her own future, totally unlike the splendour of the past or future of any other land throughout the world, while she is her own personal and wondrous Self, while she is her own individuality, she is more than this, she is a Universality as well. She is an individual State no doubt, but she is also a World State, and of that fact we have to take emphatic cognizance. India belongs to herself, she has a right to herself, a Divine right to herself, but she also belongs to the world, if for no other reason than the reason that the world needs India urgently today, has needed her for centuries, is in ever-increasing need of her. So it is that, because of the need of the world, India's resurrection must be complete, must be full, must in every way fulfil that which a resurrection should fulfil, not only that she may become herself again, but in order that she may give to the world that of which the world is in so dire a need.

It is India's resurrection today. It is the world's resurrection today, too, and this war is the setting for the resurrection both of this Motherland, as herself, and for India as the Motherland of the Nations of the world.

A New Dwelling-Place

What is this resurrection? It is that she may awaken her soul to fashion anew its dwelling-place, that the dwelling-place may be such that in it the soul can function freely. It must fashion its dwelling-place not with the hands of the foreigner, but with national hands, India's hands consecrated aforetime to make her today in a wondrous image of her own Eternity. No foreign country however great, no foreign country however

wise, can fashion for India the form she needs for her resurrection, for her regeneration. She must write her Magna Carta in her own words, with her own hands. She must write her Bill of Rights, her Declaration of Independence, her Charter of Liberties, her Constitution, as she enters with all that she is and all that she has been into this new young world of ours.

India Must Create Her Own Freedom

So is it that whenever a leader or a party or a group of people demands from Britain or from any other country, the demand is wrong. It is not that India shall demand from another country. It is that India shall create her own freedom, her own Charter of Liberties. It is that India shall revive her own glories as she alone can revive them. I have no sympathy with those who do nothing else than ask, ask, ask. How much time has been wasted during these past years since the last war took place in asking, asking, asking?

Now as we are beginning a war which may last, as the British Government foresees, three years and possibly more, it is now our time to see to it that we are ready with our Charter, a Charter which we can show to Britain and say, "These are our Liberties." But as yet we have nothing to show. We content ourselves with asking! That is not the right, the duty of a nation like India. India is a nation greater than any other nation. She has no cause to bow down before any nation in the world. She has every duty to stand on her own feet, not in a spirit of hatred, suspicion, nor yet in a spirit of distrust, but in a spirit of knowing her own strength and relying confidently upon it. That is the

situation, so far as I am concerned. This is not a time for enmity, but for friendship. But it is the time for India's declaration of the nature of her life and of the forms in which that life shall dwell.

A Great Mosaic

When I think of the nature of the substance of such a Declaration of Rights, of such a Magna Carta, by whatever name you like to give the Charter of her Liberties, I am astounded at the splendour of its mosaic, out of which will be fashioned the image of the India-to-be.

Her Faiths : I think of the great Faiths of the world, all of which are here in India as they are nowhere else throughout the world. I think of her great Faiths and their many sects. What light each Faith sheds upon the Charter of India's Liberties ! How glorious a rainbow are these Faiths, coming, as they all of them do, from the great White Light of the East !

Her Cultures : Not only has she these great Faiths upon which to draw, all of them, she has her great cultures : her mighty Dravidian, Hindu, Muslim, Buddhist, Christian, Zoroastrian, Jewish, and their branches and derivatives—all of them jewels of splendid culture. Upon these she can also draw.

Her Temperaments : If we go into the length and breadth of India, into the North, the United Provinces, up into the Punjab, then down into the Bombay Presidency, into the Maharashtra district, finally back into the Southern portion of India, we shall see how she has at her disposal, also to help her to fashion this great Charter of Liberties, temperament after temperament. She has the domination of the mind

here, the domination of the emotions and the strength of the will elsewhere; keenness in this part of India, with destructiveness, let us hope a constructive destructiveness, in some other part, with fanaticism largely in the North, and with a wonderful artistry which is the fruit of all the great cultures and faiths which dwell in her midst.

Her Age-Old Past : Not only has she this trinity of faiths, cultures, temperaments, but she has that universal background of splendour so indescribable in words. Every one, be he foreigner or be he Indian, can only stand in homage before the mighty background of India's past. It is sometimes the custom among western historians, with all their peculiar and absurd limitations, to think that India's greater and dimmer past, because it cannot be touched by them, does not exist. It does exist. It exists in the hearts of Indian people today. They may not be able to give expression to its nature through language; but it thrills them, it gives them a sense of India's greatness, it gives them a sense of delight that so great a past is their own immediate heritage.

Her Democracy : There is one more ingredient in this mosaic of her essential substance—it is her unrivalled democracy. Sometimes the West seems to be of the opinion that it has created democracy for the modern world. It has done nothing more at the very most than borrow democracy from the East. In India democracy was destroyed about the beginning of the 19th century, I am afraid, by the East India Company, and if we have not democracy today it is not our fault, it is our misfortune. When any country thinks it can bring democracy to India, it might as well

think, in the colloquial phrase of England, of "carrying coals to Newcastle."

There is no real democracy in any part of the world. I do not think that the United States has any real democracy. Nor has Britain. We have something that looks like democracy, but when it is put to the test, it does not always seem to be democracy in fact. Is it not rather gilt than gold? At all events at India's disposal is the real democracy, the democracy that the western world needs, and so is it that India's resurrection must not merely be for the sake of her own redemption, it must be for the redemption of the whole world as well, which needs the gifts which, alas I, India is not yet in a position to give.

India's Great Opportunity

India has before her the great opportunity of centuries—I might almost use Dr. Besant's words and say "the great opportunity of millenia." Will she seize that opportunity? She can seize it. I am perfectly certain she will seize it if she is rightly led, and if the people as a whole will see that their leaders rightly lead them. It is not enough to have leaders, it is not enough to echo what those leaders say. It is not enough to satisfy their exhortations that we should follow X, Y, or Z, or this, that, or the other principle. What is necessary is that we should have a passionate love of India in our individual hearts, and that we should follow our own convictions as to the need of India, that we should give ourselves, as much as it is possible for us to give ourselves, to this country in her present time of need.

A Time for Action

We have had quite enough of meetings. We could do without very many of them. The time spent in visiting such meetings could be better spent in doing work for India. As Mr. Chamberlain said the other day in the House of Commons, this is not a time for speech, this is a time for action. These words apply as much to India as they apply to any other country.

I want, therefore, at this point to insist, with all possible emphasis: That every citizen, every daughter and every son must help to build her unity.

What are the qualities which we must bring to the building?

Sacrifice and Service: We must be willing to give up. First let us give up the things we do not mind giving up. Let us say, "I do not want this, so India may have it." But we must not stop at that first weak stage—we must also be willing to give that which we need for ourselves, or at least that which we treasure for ourselves.

I would say to everyone throughout this land: What is your sacrifice for India as she stands on the threshold of her resurrection?

Is not your sacrifice your real service of the Motherland?

Reverence: One of the keynotes of India's greatness in the past was the fact that the golden thread of reverence ran through every relationship in human life. Nothing was more wonderful than the fact that in political matters no less than in all others, the spirit of reverence dominated. At least you and I, humble servants of India, born into this time that we may help her, must reflect that spirit of reverence

and help to bind her new structure indissolubly together by the reverence which we bring out of the past, and by the *Goodwill* which is unchangeable in us. I should like strongly to emphasize that when India is rising into her resurrection, into her new image, into the new fashioning of her eternity, there must not be anything to mar or to weaken that image. We must have no place for hatred in our hearts of anyone. We must have no place for anger in our hearts. Hatred and anger always waste time and render futile our efforts. We must have love in our hearts dominantly for our own Motherland, but we can dissipate any wrong that has been done to us or is directed against us by our goodwill and understanding. As the Lord Buddha has told us, "Hatred ceaseth not by hatred." Anger ceaseth not by anger. It is only by understanding, by a goodwill which cannot be broken whatever happens, that India can be saved and the nations of the world be brought into friendship together.

It may be difficult for many of us to keep from giving way to anger, we may feel annoyed at many happenings, we may feel that we cannot tolerate this or that, not so much for ourselves but for our country. Yet, if India needs anything today it is *Self-control*, it needs that every one of her citizens shall live in the heights of *Reverence*, *Goodwill* and *Ahimsa*, and never allow himself to be disturbed therefrom.

Our Invincible Weapons

Hatredlessness, harmlessness. Those are two of the greatest fighting forces which we have specifically at our

disposal. Where is there a nation in which lives the spirit of ahimsa as it lives in India? It is one of our weapons, those weapons which cannot be denied, those weapons which must conquer. You and I must dedicate ourselves to its use. If we have not so far dedicated ourselves to India save perhaps through attending and applauding at meetings, which is no real service, then let us some time in the very near future prostrate before that which to us is most holy, wonderful and sacred, and vow ourselves in a spirit of reverence, goodwill and compassion, of perfect understanding and self-control, to give ourselves to the utmost that is possible, to India. It is so easy to attend a lecture and listen to whatever other people are saying. The great challenge, both so far as the audience and the speaker are concerned, is :

What Are You Doing ?

We can applaud, and thus show that we like the sentiments and appreciate the lecture, and the lecturer can, if he has oratory at his disposal, carry us into wondrous flights, and we may shake our heads and turn to those next to us and smile, saying, "How wonderful!" There may be a great clapping and stamping of feet. But it may mean no more than the temporary, fleeting surging of emotions, for as they thus rise, so do they fall infructuous, and deaden, even kill, the finer and more lasting emotions. The less shall we thus be true citizens of our country, and the more shall we be a burden to her, because we to her only give lip service, clap service, feet-stamping service, but not the service of sacrifice, not the dedicating of our gifts to her resurrection.

Leaders Are Not Enough

The leadership we have is not enough. Our leaders—Gandhiji, Subhas Chandra Bose, Jawaharlal Nehru and others—are not enough. India needs the dedicated spirit in every single one of her citizens. We are thankful for these examples, but they are not enough. India must arise into a period of *doing*, and each of her citizens must work. In Britain almost everyone is helping to serve Britain far more than themselves. This must be the case in India if she is to be truly free.

We must none of us wait until somebody else does something. It is so easy for us to say that if other people will do something, we shall be very happy to do something. Anyone can move his lips about. Anyone can express a low-blood-pressure patriotism. It is vital for you and me, for all of us, to *do* things, to be real, active patriots, not mere drones.

The People Must Lead

As Lincoln has so rightly said, we must have a "Government of the people, for the people, and by the people." We want to remember those words in these days when the spirit of Hitlerism, of dictatorship, is threatening not only other countries, but also this country about-to-be-free.

The people must lead and the leaders must follow. I could wish that there were a public opinion in this country that would make our leaders follow, that would cause our leaders to express it, and make our leaders the servants of the people instead of the dictators of the people as they tend to be at the present time.

You and I are not awake, we are half asleep. We want other people to think for us and lead us. We are often even too asleep to follow.

The people must lead and dictate. We want the Muslims to dictate to the Muslim League. We want the Indians who belong to the Congress to dictate to the Congress. If I had the power, I would say to the Working Committee, the All-India Congress Committee, and all other Committees that there are too many words and too little action. What are we to do now? The war has begun. What are we to do?

Slave mentality is our ruin, be it the slave mentality to Britain, to Gandhi, to Jawaharlal Nehru, to Jinnah, or to any one. We must be our own free selves, for if India is to be free, she must be composed of free citizens. Each one of us, even though he may decide that in such and such a leader good counsel is to be found, must give of his own free self-consciousness, he must give of his own awakened and independent thought, and he must have depending upon that awakened independent thought a strong current of individual activity.

India's Rights Are Recognized

Even though no lead is given to us in this country, that shall make us firm to tread our way, to realize that India is on the threshold of her resurrection, one is thankful to know that many of the leading newspapers like the *Manchester Guardian*, the *London Daily Herald* and others realize that India's Hour Has Struck, and not only do they realize it, but many men and women have realized it.

The Leader of the Opposition has realized it in no uncertain language : " I hope that we shall get statements also in this House to show the Indian people that . . . they are coming in on a level with us and not in any kind of dependency whatever." Yes, but we must fashion the level. That is the whole point. That is the quarrel I have with the Congress. It is for us to say what the nature of the level shall be, not for us to say to Britain, " Please give us a level and we will see if we like it." Major Atlee made the statement I have just quoted, and Mr. Arthur Greenwood has echoed those sentiments in no uncertain terms. The leader of the British Liberal Party, Sir Archibald Sinclair, has said practically no less, though, because he is a little nearer to the Conservative viewpoint, he has not been able to commit himself as much as the Labour Party leader has been able to commit himself. On the one hand we have fine commitments without any doubt or hedging on the part of the Labour Party. Sir Archibald Sinclair says in effect, " I must not commit myself, but we all of us are very favourable to India's aspirations." Then you go still farther towards the right and you have Lord Zetland. Shall I say anything more about Lord Zetland and his historic words, about the wisdom of which I believe he must by now be more than a little doubtful, for he has not spoken since those utterances in which he said " the time is ill-chosen," " India must wait," etc.?

India is tired of waiting.

What Shall We Do ?

What are we to do? I can tell you what I think we ought to do, and I shall be only too happy if you find something

very much better to do than anything I am suggesting now. If you can think what you and other people ought to do splendidly different, that is enough.

A National Service Corps : In the first place I do wish that the National Congress had long ago established a National Service Corps throughout the land, not so much for a defence force with the help of staves and sticks and other such lethal weapons, but a corps for the raising of the standard of Indian citizenship throughout the country. I should like that National Service Corps to have been filled by the youth of India.

Now we have so-called National Governments, we have a Wardha Scheme, about which I do not want to say very much, and many other things, but what we want in every school and every college, among all the youth of India, is a sense of India's citizenship, of every student being an Indian citizen and having glorious work to do as such. Anybody can study mathematics, history, geography, and all the other subjects of the curriculum. It is true that anybody cannot pass the examinations—very few can, and then generally only by mistake. But where is the active service of the Motherland offered to young India of today? It ought to have been offered long ago by the Indian National Congress. It ought to be offered by the National Governments today.

I can assure you that the Wardha Scheme with its idea of the children supporting education does not give a sense of pride and delight in the Indian citizenship which they should have from the very beginning. We want them to be proud to be patriots, to love their country so much that their

teachers can hardly restrain them, and at the same time to go out into the world with their enthusiasm and delight in living, because they are still young, with their answer that happiness must and shall prevail everywhere. We want them to go out in that spirit and help those Indian citizens to whom Indian citizenship is hardly worthwhile, that they may feel in India's resurrection a new hope that will make it again seem worthwhile to struggle against their hardships and starvation, believing the time will soon come when India will have her own Constitution, will be living according to her own standards, and that happiness, peace and prosperity will once more come to them.

That is what the youth of India can give to India today. It should be part of the educational system, and if it cannot be, it should at least be part of our leisure occupations.

Our political and other parties of whatever nature they may be, have little vision or imagination, are not really enthusiastic, have little fire. They do not see they could steer the whole country to its quick redemption if only they would put a glorious India before every single citizen, and especially before the citizens who are young, to make them feel it is worthwhile not only to love their country, as I hope they do, but to serve their country as best they can. That is what has to be done, so far as the general body of the citizens are concerned.

The Constituent Assembly : Then there is the Constituent Assembly to frame a Swarâj Constitution. There was a great deal of talk about it in 1914 and 1915. Later, as you know, actually a Commonwealth of India Bill came before the House of Commons for a first reading, but did not get any

further because nobody in India was prepared to support it. India was then a house divided against herself, as Gandhiji says she still is. That is her gravest danger and against that disunion, we must all work with all our will, even unto death if need be.

Participation in the Present War

Then I think we must participate in the present war, though Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose says "No." I do not agree with him. I think this is an opportunity for us to show that we recognize the nature of the war, that we know what this war is for, and therefore we participate in it. It is not a question of bargaining. It is because we know what India's real part in the war is, as well as the blessing that the war, even though a war, can confer upon the whole world and upon her, it is because we know that as no other country knows it, that we should participate in the war and crush Hitlerism beyond any rising up again, not only the Hitlerism in Europe but all Hitlerism that is anywhere about.

This brings me to the second theme of my talk. The first may be summed up as INDIA'S INDIVIDUAL RESURRECTION, the second INDIA'S CALL TO THE WORLD—that Call that must and shall be heard. I draw your attention to that banner hanging on the wall which represents what I believe India to be :

" INDIA—LAND OF THE GREATER LIGHT "

All other lands are lands of lesser light. India is the Land of the Greater Light, and you ought to believe it, to thrill to that banner, feeling it represents India's place in the world,

lifts her into the place she should occupy, a place of unundoubted pre-eminence.

The Centre of Spiritual Gravity

I was speaking the other day to a group of friends about the strange fact that sometimes the Spiritual Centre of the world, the Centre of the world's Spiritual Gravity, moves away from the place which it occupies in truth forever, moves away from the East, the source of Light, and sometimes, as it travels from East to West, takes its centre in the West awhile. I am perfectly certain that the centre of political gravity, the centre of material gravity, has shifted to the West. But in the East there is still to be found the Centre of Spiritual Gravity. That, ever in the East, shall now become intensified as India becomes Self-conscious once more. That Centre of Spiritual Gravity shall become intensified and shall vibrate as it has not vibrated for centuries, and with it shall come its former political and material splendour.

I look to the conclusion of this war, and to the time which shall succeed this war, as a time when the Centre of the World's Soul-Force shall once more manifest and be active in this eastern land of the Greater Light. I believe it is coming. I believe that through the Indian arts, I believe that through the great Indian virtues this Fire of the Spiritual Life is being fanned into a flame. That is why the next two lectures will be lectures on that Culture and on that Ahimsa which are beginning to fan India's life, and which shall be, though it may not be for the moment, the glory of the world, the envy and the inspiration of the world, so that the

world's arts, the world's culture, the world's brotherhood may themselves shine forth in the Light which shall appear as the result of an awakening culture and ahimsa of India in the setting of her new freedom.

India Must Shine

India is the Land of the Greater Light of the World, and it is high time, as she becomes free with that Light released in her own person, to shine forth that Light upon the whole world.

She cannot shine if she remains blacked out. India cannot, must not, shall not any longer remain blacked out. Only a handful of people anywhere could possibly wish that she should be blacked out. I am perfectly clear that the people of Britain are India's friends and that they do not want her to be blacked out. The British people are a very fine people. Britain too is entering her resurrection. If only the British and the Indian people could know each other face to face. If only we could have an ambassador to the British people from the Indian people, not from the Government of India to the British Government!

We are one. We can come together. There is not much difference between one people and another; whether we think of the German or the British peoples, they are all fine peoples—all children of one Great Father, and they all have an understanding and a desire to understand which only Governments are able to frustrate. There is too much government of the people by Governments, and too little government of the people by the people. That is one of the misfortunes at the present time.

As Jawaharlal Nehru so rightly said : " We feel that large numbers of British people have the same world ideals as many of us possess in India. [Therefore] we have offered them our co-operation in the realization of those ideals." But as he so rightly adds, " only a free and a consenting India can throw her weight for ideals that are openly proclaimed and acted upon."

How wonderful it is that India is the Land of the Greater Light. Thus can she show what the nature of the war in very truth is. Already that light perhaps is beginning to shine, for the Prime Minister of Britain declared at the opening of the war—I think that there has been a little bit of hedging as the war has proceeded—that the methods of Hitler " must come to an end. And if after the struggle we can re-establish in the world the rule of good faith and the renunciation of force, then even the sacrifices entailed upon us will find their fullest justification." And I am thankful to read that that statement was followed by " loud and prolonged cheers."

Mr. Anthony Eden, now the Dominions Secretary, said, " We must fashion a new world." Exactly, only we must fashion a new world not only in Europe but in India as well, in China, in Abyssinia, in Albania—everywhere.

The British Labour Party said : " We are animated by a single and steadfast purpose. It is to put a final end to methods of violence . . . to restore the rule of Law among the nations ; make secure the liberty of peoples, and usher in a new order of peace and justice for all."

Do Not Forget China

But do not forget China, I would say to Britain. India will not permit you to forget her, so I need not say, "Do not forget India." I am hoping that India will make so emphatic a Declaration she must be heard. But poor China is easy to forget, for she is an eastern people with few friends, if any. The liberties of the people of China are as important as the liberties of the people of Czecho-Slovakia, of Austria, of Poland. We talk of the freedom these days of Poland and Czecho-Slovakia and Austria. Quite rightly they must have their freedom. But why should not Albania have her freedom and Abyssinia hers? And why not China hers? As an eastern land she does not count quite so much!

To the Land of the Larger Freedom

Now how is India to shine with this ray of the Greater Light?

In the first place she can say to Britain something that is very charming and something I believe is perfectly true:

"I am the Land of the Greater Light and you are the Land of the Larger Freedom."

Britain has stood for freedom, she is standing for freedom, but she must push the frontiers of that freedom further back, further back until she becomes the Land of the Larger Freedom not merely for herself, her sons and daughters in the British Commonwealth, but for her great eastern comrade, and for the whole world. India, Land of the Greater Light for the World—Britain, Land of the Larger Freedom for the World. That is what India can so splendidly say to Britain.

I only wish, as I have already said, that some Indian could go over to Britain and speak face to face with the British people, fine as they are, willing as they are to serve, willing as they are to sacrifice. If only an Indian with a beautiful Indian voice could go to Britain and say : " Yes, you are doing splendid things, but you must make this Commonwealth so strong that the eastern valve of its heart beats as finely as the western valve. Nothing else will make the body of the Commonwealth vital, able to endure, and give health and prosperity to the whole of the earth."

Hitlerism must go and Hitler with it. There must be a perpetuation of freedom throughout the world. Yet remember that each one of us fabricates a little Hitler in himself whenever we are cruel, whenever we allow ugliness to get the better of us ; whenever we are content with ugliness and cruelty and do nothing to stem its tide, then the spirit of Hitler is in us. We ourselves make Hitler possible. We must make Hitler impossible. In every cruelty, in every ugliness we have in us, or which we allow to exist without protesting, without action, we make a little nucleus for an arising of a Hitler who embodies in terms of an individual the cruelty, the ugliness, the tyranny, the oppression which may exist throughout the world.

China must be free, India must become herself, cruelty and ugliness must be fought everywhere. Indian youth can help to fight the cruelty and the ugliness in the spirit of Ahimsa, so that wherever there is cruelty, wherever there is ugliness, it may as far as possible disappear. The details with regard to this will be spoken about by Shrimati Rukmini

Devi in far better language, and from the Indian heart, therefore far more convincingly.

There must be a Fellowship of Faiths, and no proselytization, no sense that one faith is better than another. There must be everywhere a new democracy. It is that splendid village democracy of which Mr. Sri Ram will talk in detail, that is the democracy that India and the world needs, no importations from the United States or Russia or from any other foreign country, but our own Swadeshi product that we have had in our midst from time immemorial, but which has been crushed from time to time by foreign invasions.

The Real Purpose of the War

India must through the Congress or any other Party make a great and spiritual statement as to the nature of this War and as to its high purposes. If we can cause the purposes of the Great War to be perceived for what they really are, then will the will of every one become inclined to fulfil or help to fulfil those purposes as best they can.

So I do say : India! Your hour has struck ! Hear in the note of that Hour the note of your own great destiny not yet begun to be fulfilled, a greatness in the past. An enslavement for centuries, and now a greatness to come. And if I say that India's Hour Has Struck, I say that the note of her future greatness is sounding in the ears of all who are faithful to India, so that they may awaken and do their duty to the land which has given them the honour of her citizenship.

Enter into the glory of your eternal past. Do not look to foreign countries. Do not look to the West. Look to your

own past, rich as it is with Hindu culture, with Muslim culture, with the cultures of every faith. Look to your Indian past for a form of Government which no country has yet achieved, and realize that that form of Government is yours, if only you will establish a Constituent Assembly to develop it and make it the unique feature of India's newer life. We betray India with the thought of any foreign Constitution being the Constitution of the India of tomorrow.

And above all, let India sound the note of that Universal Brotherhood, of that Universal Understanding between races, between nations, between faiths, between communities, which so urgently needs sounding at the present time.

We must be One People. We must have One Life, however much that Life may be rich in splendid differences. We must have One Goal, and there is not a single Indian citizen who cannot work for that Goal here and now in a spirit of harmlessness, in a spirit of fashioning such a citizenship for India as shall give joy and gladness to every man, woman and child.

India's Hour Has Struck ! Let those who have the ears to hear, let them hear, and let them act, and let them see to it that ere long India is ready to take her place as a respected equal, as an honoured equal, even as a revered equal, among all the nations of the world.

